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No. 1557

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### LENGTHENING OF KOSICE AIRPORT RUNWAY DESCRIBED

Prague LETECKY OBZOR in Slovak No 21, 1978 pp 47-49

[Article by Engr Frantisek Stolarik: "The First Part of the New Construction of Kosice-Barca Airport"]

[Text] In 1971 a commission met under the leadership of the Federal Ministry of Transportation which decided in its conclusions that for the operation of new models introduced into the aircraft park of Czechoslovak Airlines it would be necessary to extend the takeoff and landing runway in Kosice. The planning of flight procedures between the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR as well as evaluation of relations between the growing area of the East Slovak Steelworks and the airport from the viewpoint of the operation of the airport was a condition of the construction.

In cooperation with the Military Design Institute in Prague, the Czechoslovak Administration of Civil Airports in Bratislava elaborated the preparatory specifications.

A takeoff and landing runway of a length of 3,100 meters in comparison to the previous 2,000 meters is necessary for unimpaired operation of aircraft of the TU-134A category. This length is set for the interrupted takeoff of the critical aircraft. The bearing capability of the surface is proposed to be LCN 56 with a radius of relative rigidity of 90 cm. Besides the TU-134A, the length of the takeoff and landing runway and the bearing capability also accommodate aircraft such as the Caravelle, BAC-111, DC-9, B-727, TU-154, and for a limited number of movements and weight of the IL-62 airplane.

Besides civilian air transport, the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] High Military Air Force School in Kosice also uses the airport. The coordination and organization of movements of planes and automatic machinery on the runways of the airport are very demanding.

At the same time as the elaboration of preparatory specifications for building the extension of the runway, a study was elaborated of a set of installations for the further construction of Kosice Airport for civil as

well as other organizations using the airport. From the study of the set of installations, an unequivocal conclusion followed: to separate the two main organizations using the airport so that unnecessary mutually interfering traffic would not occur and so that air traffic would constitute a rational, harmonious unity.

This main motif of rationalization and security lies at the basis of the whole construction project. All these elements of the new construction project are already appearing in the first phase of construction. Besides the lengthening of the takeoff and landing runway, the lengthening of the taxiing route up to the new threshold 01, the construction of the new taxiing route to the west from the runway, the connecting route between the runway and the taxiing route to the east or from the runway, circumventing roads, buildings for air safety equipment and for other users of the airport are a part of the construction. With its total cost of more than Kcs 100 million, the construction project is the largest construction project of civil aviation in the recent period. The unusual conditions of construction under uninterrupted air traffic have made construction very demanding, especially as far as the organizational aspect is concerned. Thus the entry into operation of the runway in a length of 3,100 meters from 1 November 1977 represents a great contribution and success for the investor, suppliers, the general designer, and users. Originally in the design of the organization of the construction project, an exclusion of air traffic for 7 months and a limitation of air traffic only to airplanes of the IL-14 and JAK-40 types for a period of 23 months was anticipated. The initiative of the workers who participated in the organization of the work and on the construction itself led to a modified mode of construction. At the request of the political and economic organs of the East Slovak kraj and the city of Kosice, the construction was organized in such a way that the shortening of the runway for smaller planes took only 14 months, and a complete stoppage of the airport practically did not occur at all. The construction started in January 1975, and the planned deadline for putting the runway at a length of 3,100 meters into operation by the end of October 1977 was kept. After the completion of the construction and its outfitting with safety equipment, this range of safety equipment will be at the disposal of the civil aviation traffic, which will practically make possible operation under the conditions of category II of the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] weather minima.

For direction 01 of the runway, there will be

--a complete approach system of category II in a length of 900 meters with signal devices every 30 meters complemented by flashing signals according to the recommendation of regulation FMD L 14. All-directional signal devices are at every 60 meters;

--side-light demarcation of the runway of high and medium intensity with light signals every 60 meters;

- an axial light row on the runway with signals every 15 meters;
- a demarcation of the touchdown zone by a mat of light;
- a strengthened entry threshold bar;
- a VASIS [Vertical Approach Instrument System] triple-bar approach system;
- an NDB [expansion unknown] system of two locational radio beacons (km 0.97 and 7.0);
- an ILS [Instrument Landing System] system of a precise-approach radio beacon;
- a VOR [expansion unknown] all-directional radio beacon;
- an RL-41 [expansion unknown] surveying radio locator.

For direction 19 the runway is equipped with:

- an all-directional light demarcation of the runway;
- a VASIS double-bar system;
- an ILS reverse beam of the directional radio beacon;
- VOR and RL-41 equipment.

All safety devices are remotied-controlled from the work rooms for directing flights and from the flight control tower. Indicators of light safety devices are led to the main transforming station. With the construction of the new safety devices, a broad reconstruction of all energy installations and the construction of one completely new transforming station with a backup source of electrical energy have taken place. After installing meteorological equipment, semiautomatic control of the luminosity of the light systems will be introduced.

At present, four to five large transport aircraft can be placed on the airport. The widening and reconstruction of the present provisional dispatching building will start in the near future so that it can serve before the construction of the new one, which is being considered for the transition between the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Plans.

The plan for further construction anticipates the development of civil aviation transport for the volumes of transportation in 1995:

- 905,000 travelers altogether, including 55,000 foreigners,
- 22,000 tons of freight and mail,
- 11,750 movements of airplanes.

These volumes of transportation can be insured only through extensive construction. From the viewpoint of the guideline territorial plan and from the operational viewpoint, it is most suitable to locate the new space for construction on the east side of the runway. The location of the airport as well as its relation to the city and its surroundings was confirmed by the territorial plan up to 2010. We have arrived at this conclusion after long attempts to plan the coexistence of the airport and the city (the axis of the northern takeoff and landing corridor goes through the city). We have worked out various studies which were aimed first at the relocation of the entire airport. It became apparent that the relocation of the airport was not possible (in the case of the Trebisov alternative, because of considerable financial expenditures and damage to the natural environment of 34 villages; in the case of the Presov alternative, the airport would endanger the natural environment and the development of the city).

Regular international transport is not foreseen at the airport; however, individual international connections, especially to the Black Sea, are foreseen. In the new area of the construction space, complete furnishings for the traveling public, the employees of the airport, the aircraft crews, and visitors to the airport are foreseen. The buildings are placed practically in one line parallel with the runway. They form two units: a dispatching part and a technical part. The approach to both parts has been arranged by connecting it to State Highway 68 from Kosice to Mickolc.

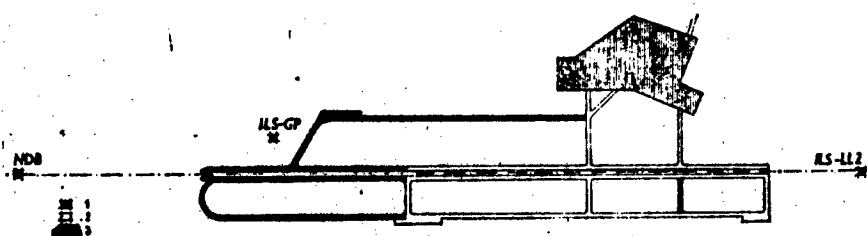
The dispatching part is laid out to the south of incoming flights. It consists of airport buildings for domestic and foreign travelers with dispatching on one level and linked to the new dispatching area. This part is dominated by a technical block which forms the base for the control tower. In this building are located all operations connected with the control of flights, dispatching, HMU [Hydrometeorological Institute], computer center, preparation of crews, etc. Other buildings are for services, administration, and freight railroad station.

The technical part is located to the north of the incoming flights. The zone of technical operations is considered a closed unit separated from public traffic. The main building is the entrance building in which several operations are combined--for instance, apprenticeship training center, plant cafeteria, technical administration, amenities, and others. Other buildings are designated for technical fire and emergency services, garages, vehicle and mechanized equipment repair shops, aviation fuel storage, store rooms for the MTZ [material and technical base], a housekeeping center, gardening, a disinfection station, a furnace room, etc.

Buildings for a repair center of SLOV-AIR and areas for Zvazarm [Union for Cooperation with the Army] located on the western side of the runway alongside a grassy strip are a part of the newly proposed construction. The entire construction project is divided into 3 stages up to 1995 with an anticipated total expenditure of more than Kcs 600 million.

The clear conceptualization of further construction of the airport with a precise demarcation of the zones of the individual users and operations is a good precondition for making investment plans more precise and for timely predesign preparation. It remains only to hope that this conceptualization will be implemented in harmony with the needs and aims in the whole East Slovak region. Air connections in general are a very important component of air transport into this part of our territory, which has already become apparent in the strong pressures for implementing construction in the first stage of construction lengthening the runway.

1 — nový stav, 2 — starý stav, 3 — zastavovací priestor



Key:

1. New part
2. Old part
3. Space for construction

9105

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CIA SAID TO MISUSE ROSENBERGS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jun 78 p 6

[Article by (mk): "New Revelation"]

[Text] A sufficient amount of evidence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's innocence has been collected during the quarter of a century which elapsed since their execution on 19 June 1953. This evidence shows quite clearly that a premeditated judicial murder was involved.

The American weekly WORLD MAGAZINE now has revealed a totally new aspect of the Rosenbergs' case. It obtained a secret CIA memorandum, dated 1953, which reveals how this U.S. Government espionage agency wanted to use the fabricated accusation of the Rosenbergs for its plans of the offensive against progressive people and communists.

CIA wanted to use Rosenbergs as tools of psychological warfare in a campaign aiming at schism of the world communist movement, while creating groups within individual communist parties which then could be used for infiltration and espionage.

CIA offered to the Rosenbergs to drop their capital punishment in return for this service.

The CIA memorandum is not at all preoccupied by the question of guilt or innocence of the Rosenbergs. It does not speak of them as of spies and it does not require any information or denunciation of other people. Its only demand is that Rosenbergs should criticize the Soviet Union.

One reason for it could be--according to WORLD MAGAZINE--that the CIA knew, as currently millions of people are already convinced, that the Rosenbergs were innocent. Consequently it could not demand their acknowledgment of guilt. Since they were innocent, the CIA step was logical since it did not demand their confession, but blackmailed them, promising to save their lives if they were willing to betray the movement.

The Rosenbergs refused and 6 months after the plan was worked out they were executed. They died in dignity, true to those values to whom they dedicated their lives. They gained the respect of millions of people all over the world and a niche in the history of heroes.

Nevertheless, the CIA plan did not end in the waste basket. It has been put into effect for already several years—on an almost daily basis—as a psychological warfare component of the anti-communist campaign of the American Government and news media.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR PEACE COMMITTEE HONORS MEMORY OF ROSENBERGS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 78 p 2

[Text of a cable addressed to Movement To Commemorate Ethel and Julius Rosenberg]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Peace Committee addressed following message to the Movement To Commemorate Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in New York, last Friday:

Esteemed Friends, in the name of public opinion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, we sincerely welcome creation of the Movement To Commemorate Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Twenty-five years will elapse since their heroic death on 19 June.

We highly appreciate your tireless efforts to purify names of these fearless fighters for peace who became victims of judicial despotism of the ruling circles. Your activity, developing in the United States, continues the famed revolutionary traditions of the American people in its fight for freedom, against fascism and racism. History has fully proven the entire innocence of Mr and Mrs Rosenberg who--in minds of fighters for peace and of the entire progressive mankind--will always remain a symbol of decision to sacrifice in the fight for truth, democracy and human rights even the most precious of all goods--human life.

Reactionary and militaristic forces try once more to unleash the anti-communist hysteria and by increased arming to interrupt the process of detente of international tensions.

The memory of Mr and Mrs Rosenberg who had to die, in spite of widespread protest of international public opinion and many governments, is an appeal to reinforce our fight for peace, progress and happiness of mankind. The Czechoslovak Peace Committee adds its name to the broad action of international solidarity and wishes your Movement many successes in your struggle for a just cause.

CSO: 2400



FRG WEEKLY REVIEWS CULTURAL POLICY PRIOR TO WRITERS CONGRESS

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 20, 12 May 78 p 11

[Article by Karl Corino: "The Desire for Truth Is Wilting. On the Cultural Policy Situation Prior to the Eighth Writers Congress in East Berlin. The Most Important of the Authors Who Have Remained in the GDR after the Great Exodus were not appointed delegates to the Writers Congress"]

[Text] Gerhard Henninger, secretary of the GDR Writers Union, announced a short time ago that a completely positive assessment of literary developments in the last five or eight years could be made at the Writers Congress at the end of May, and he is not alone in this opinion, even if his German sometimes deserts him: "Many works have appeared and among these many with important theses on an important level (sic), which have struck a chord among the readership."

When one calls to mind the important works published since 1973, the year of the Seventh Writers Congress, one does indeed come up with an imposing number of books: two or three dozen, according to how strict a criterion one uses. Erich Arendt's books of verse "Memento Und Bild" and "Zeitsaum," Adolf Endler's "Sandkorn," and Karl Michel's "Eisenzeit" belong to the list as well as Franz Fühmann's "Gesammelte Erzählungen," Maxi Wander's portraits of women "Guten Morgen, Du Schoene" and Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster." If one takes note of the places of publication and first sales one can establish that a notable percentage of GDR literature is now as before extraterritorial. Jurch Becker's latest novel ("Schlaflose Tage"), the stories of Thomas Brasch and Hans Joachim Schaedlich, the short stories of Reiner Kunze and Juergen Fuchs, Volker Braun's book version of "Unvollendeten Geschichte" as well as his Guevara play, all were published only in the FRG. Nothing has changed regarding the pressure for GDR authors to emigrate who have transgressed certain norms in their works on their actions.

If the 1973 Writers Congress was silently run under Honecker's motto that there could be no tabus for an artist who remained within socialist positions, the unofficial slogan for 1978 goes: The artists have failed all down the line. This pithy saying of Honecker's refers to the reaction to

Wolf Biermann's expatriation, the first protest by numerous intellectuals against a decision by the GDR government, which kept the functionaries on the move for a while. Between the two congresses lies the most severe crisis in cultural polity administration, the greatest exodus of artists from the other German state. The names of the authors who have left or who were forced to leave--Becker, Brausch, Fuchs, Jentzsch, Sarah Kirsch, Kunge, Schaedlich--are sufficiently well known.

The congress at the end of May will indeed be an act of cultural polity consolidation, as the leaders of the party apparatus understand it. Months ago Gerhard Ziegegeist, professor and director of the Central Institute for Literary History at the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, announced regarding the artists insubordination in November 1976: party punishments will not do away with the affair. "A long breathing space years long is necessary." Since 1971 the group "from Wolf to Kirsch and Kunert and others have been held up as the cream of GDR literature." This was wrong.

Everything, which has been heard so far about preparations for the Writers Congress conforms to this directive. The revels of the first hour, who met in Hermlin's house after the famous Cologne Concert to draft a resolution in favor of Biermann, as well as their fellow combatants, have with a few exceptions not been appointed delegates to the congress. Thus one finds among the representatives of the Berlin Association the names of Volker Braun, Guenter de Bruyn, Fritz Rudolf Fries, Stephan Hermlin and Karl-Heinz Jacobs, but not however those of Erick Arendt, Adolf Endler, Elke Erb, Franz Fuehmann, Stefan Heym, Heiner Mueller, Guenter Kunert, Ulrich Plenzdorf, Klaus Schlesinger, Rolf Schneider and Christa and Gerhard Wolf. Some of these absences (to which may be added similar absences by authors from Halle and Leipzig) are voluntary, resigned renunciations; some are the result of skilled administration.

Attempts have been made to settle many things before the congress begins. Thus more room at the event itself remains for--as Guenter Goerlich formulates it--"Political unanimity." Let us perhaps take up the case of Christa Wolf. Since the publication of her novel "Kinderheitsmuster" in winter 1976/77 violent "conflicts of opinion" have arisen over it. These have culminated temporarily in a pamphlet by delegate Annemarie Auer, published by SINN UND FORM in July-August 1977. She speaks of Christa Wolf's attempt to trace the ugly face of German totalitarianism under Hitler as well as to portray its residual features, as "self-pity," "calculation," a "specific tone between tearfulness and brooding," "a dispassionate lack of personal pride," "feelings of uniqueness," "vagueness of political position," and so on and so forth.

Authors such as Stephan Hermlin protested in due course against Auer's denunciation. Since then personal attacks have ceased, but the reservations have changed very little. While Hans Kaufmann in SINN UND FORM attested to Christa Wolf's "incisive ideas and powers of analysis," Hans Koch, director of the Institute for Art and Literature at the Academy of Social

Sciences of the SED Central Committee attributed to her merely an "argument with the superficial appearances of a 'commonplace' fascism," against which "a very definite sensibility" has been opposed.

#### Courting of Christa Wolf

But are the persistent "fear of the results of disturbing tabus," "thus cowardice," the "basic fear of experiencing too much and of being forced into an area of nonconformity," the "devastating habit...of not saying exactly what you think, of not thinking exactly what you feel and what you really believe, and of not believing yourself, what you have seen" really superficial appearances? Are they not rather proof that the change in production relationships with regard to nationalization, and the supposedly new existence that followed have not transformed man's consciousness? According to Marxist dogma are not unchanged behavior patterns evidence of the fatal stability of political structures? Or can the GDR leadership make the excuse here that the superstructure (that is psychological reactions) is overturned more slowly with the substructure. Questions of an explosive power for the system, with which one would rather not become involved.

Hans Koch avoids this through vague evasions: it is not amazing that after 30 years of socialist building "not all personal conceptions, expectations and wishes have been fulfilled long ago...." By utilizing Honecker's formula of the "breadth of real socialism," Koch finally comes around to a positive evaluation of literary works like "Kinderheitsmuster": literature, which helps one to adjust to disappointments, which utilizes all the levels of feeling of an "unendingly difficult historical creative process," this kind of literature is needed. And in this way even a second edition of Christa Wolf's novel was announced.

The trouble taken over someone whom Anna Seghers calls the GDR's most famous author, who was once a candidate member of the Central Committee and who has been spoken of by Western media in connection with the Nobel prize (to the displeasure of Ziegegeist) is obvious. For if she should also turn her back on the GDR, it would be as catastrophic as if Heinrich Boell or Guenther Grass left the FRG.

Koch has much less consideration for Werner Heiduczek and Heiner Mueller. About Heiduczek's "Tod Am Meer," a writer's confrontation with himself and his society, first published by "Mitteldeutschen Verlag" and then taken over by Hoffmann and Campe under license, Koche writes: "If these decades (those after the war) appear as the Way of the Cross, then intended or not, not only is the portrayal of true socialist society questioned. The danger exists, that the perhaps intentional moral warnings and demands for correction will take on self-destructive characteristics."

Heiner Mueller threatens to become a completely negative figure for Koch because of his pessimistic attitude "towards the world and history," as

expressed for instance in the "Hamletmaschine." Koche, whose position is sufficiently secured by the six titles after his name, reads such pieces "full of anxiety," and they were then logically published "under the copy-right of a publisher on the other side of the border" (by Rotbuch-Verlag, West Berlin). Heiner Mueller thus offers another example of those authors for whom the political, ideological means, namely praise or censure, is seen as insufficient and who must be dealt with through administrative measures: banishment in effigy. Thus it is not necessary to deal with tabu themes such as Biermann's exile in Rolf Schneider's novel "November" to set in motion the old machinery of prohibition.

Therefore it sounds like pious superstition (or exorcism) when Annemarie Auer maintains that cultural life in the GDR has gained a great deal in "color and freedom of movement" since the 60's. New content, themes and forms of expression have crystallized. "In accord with the lines of the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses, there is no authority which can decide to revoke this increase in the reality of subjects and in the multiplicity of forms." The authorities being denied here can be named very exactly: the Ministry for Culture the State Security Service, the Central Committee, and the Politburo; in connection with this one must always take into account the fact that these institutions are not monolithic, and that there are spheres of egotism, rivalries and battles in the wings. Extensive unity appears to reign here--as Ziegegeist formulates it--one would not like to go back to the (infamous) 1965 Eleventh Plenum, which meant a kind of cultural policy deforestation.

#### An Intellectual Forbidden Zone

No one today wants a deforestation, but rather a stringent thinning out of the younger plants. In doing this the Honecker administration finds itself in the following dilemma: it is very reluctant to retract the promise of an end to tabus given by the SED general secretary at the Eighth Party Congress, because then the distinction between its cultural policy and that of Ulbricht's era would be definitely wiped out. However as a rule for everyday literary activity it cannot be put into effect politically.

This results again and again in insolvable, and for many works of art almost lethal contradictions. On the other hand the "desire for truth" is being proclaimed, and on the other the intellectual forbidden zone is being fenced in very clearly and without hinderance. Thus the Deputy Minister of Culture Klaus Hoepcke at the Leipzig Spring Fair in March said about the prohibition of Jurek Becher's "Schlaflosen Tagen" in the GDR: "Things are presented in this book, which may not be discussed either as drawn up at a congress or in any other form in the GDR. ...namely for example the regime on the border between the GDR and the FRG.... The complete inviolability of this border; to this I also add its intellectual inviolability, the impossibility of questioning it in specific and, even be they fictional, forms. This has been done in a definite configuration of dialogues and figures in the aforementioned book, and thus it cannot be discussed."

That's the way it is therefore. If a GDR citizen in Africa "patiently" listens when an African, during the still undeveloped state of affairs there "prefers a feudal government to a democratic society"--this is Hoepcke's reproach against a figure in Jacob's novel "Wueste, Kehr Wieder"--then he has "caved in." Then his "desire for truth was not strong enough for him to hold his ground against this lie." If however a GDR author ponders whether a supposedly democratic society is compatible with a feudalistic "regime on the border," that is with barbed wire, mine fields and commands to shoot, then according to Hoepcke that is "in no way creativity," but "absolute stagnation in the intellectual mastery of historical progress."

A cadre like Hoepcke is always good for a sophistic formula in which a problem is made to disappear, the weaker object turned into the stronger: "Clear sightedness and resoluteness as well as the courage, the determination and the organization of revolutionary activities directed by the Marxist-Leninist party have meanwhile been fused with the desire, the quest, the craving for truth." And in Koch's article "Kunst Und Realer Socialism" ["Art and Authentic Socialism"] one reads that qualities such as sincerity, honor, tact, a sense of justice, conscience, goodness, friendliness and "moral integrity" or "moral superiority" are much in demand.

How seriously is this to be taken when the only integral moral code is that of the party, and when the moral leaders are the Central Committee and the Politburo? Beneath the white skirt of this ethic the cloven foot quickly appears. If 'conscience' is understood as an abstract moral duty to stand up for precisely those human qualities, merely as a helpful, comforting never critical or rejecting act, regardless of whether--in terms of social progress--essential and generally important interests are thereby hampered, then this conception of conscience harbors within itself the danger of social unscrupulousness."

These apparently new ideas are nothing more than a desolate reprise of Hegelian philosophy. Hegel had already placed the "true morality" of national reason above the "false morality," the morality of personal conscience. For world history moves on a higher plane than that of individuals. The "litany of private virtues," modesty, humility, human kindness and charity must not be cultivated when it is a question of progress. An insane view of history which still finds followers. The SED tries as much as possible to utilize for its own purposes the canon of middle class virtues and where these are a hindrance they are purged from the class morals.

#### Prudish Images of Workers

If one studies the themes of the five work groups, drawn up for the Writers Congress--"Work and Everyday Life in Our Literature," "Literature and Historical Consciousness," "Literature and the World," "Lyricism in the

"Struggles of Our Times," and "Problems of Current GDR Drama"--one can in one case or another easily predict what the results will be. Under the title "Work and Everyday Life" one will demand just as before the "discovery and formulation of notable worker personalities." For, as Benito Wogatzki said in an interview with the BERLINER ZEITUNG, no class produces so many unique individuals as the worker class. In purely mathematical terms that is hardly a clever trick in a worker (and peasant) nation.

But why is the "discovery and formulation" then so difficult? Why is the picture of the worker, as Wogatzki admits, "still much too general" and too "prudish"? Why are the "true men," the "remarkable, angry, unjust, foolish, incomprehensible" people presented so seldom in GDR literature? If in spite of the difficulty one really wanted to learn about such "true" workers--in Thomas Brasch's tales (e.g. "Fastnacht"), one would have done so. Should such formulations be allowed sooner literarily in the future and be expected from authors who in an overwhelming majority follow SED policies?

If one wants to characterize the atmosphere in which the Eighth Writers Congress will take place, one cannot totally believe in the "climate of openness and confidence" ostensibly encouraged by the SED. More believable appears to me to be these sentences from an open letter to the Deputy Minister of Culture Klaus Hoepcke, written last September and circulated in East Berlin: "There will be a Writers Congress next spring. I do not look forward to it with anticipation. I did that for the last one.... I am afraid of a development which will repress the truth in the name of truth."

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COMPLETE TEXT OF KADAR INTERVIEW GIVEN

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Jun 78 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, by John B. Oakes of the New York TIMES: "Janos Kadar's Answers to the New York TIMES; On Broad National Unity, the Situation of Our People's Economy, Laying the Foundations for a Peaceful Future"]

[Text] The prestigious American daily the New York TIMES sought out Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, with its questions. As the daily papers have reported, he received John B. Oakes, a member of the paper's editorial committee, on 1 June 1978, and--handing over the replies given to the questions--conducted a talk with him.

The paper published in its 10 June 1978 issue an article making use of the interview and the conversation. We publish below the full text of the answers given by Janos Kadar to the questions of the editors of the New York TIMES.

The Goals of Domestic and Foreign Policy

[Question] To what goals do you give priority in foreign and domestic policy?

[Answer] The Hungarian People's Republic, as is well known, is a socialist country. Accordingly, in the foreground of its domestic policy are tasks designed to serve the country's and the people's material and intellectual advancement, the social and legal security of the citizens, the harmonious and dynamic development of society, the development of socialist democracy, a firm and well-balanced domestic political situation of the nation.

On this foundation and in the interest of these goals a national unity broader than ever before has come into being in our homeland. Workers, peasants and intellectuals, communists and non-party people, believers and nonbelievers--even if their views differ from one another in a number of questions--are united in one thing: They want to live and prosper in peace and in a socialist Hungary. They are convinced that everyone who works with his two hands or his creative intellect for the good of the homeland has a place, a secure present and a future in the society.

It is well known that the Hungarian People's Republic belongs to the alliance system of the Warsaw Pact and is a member of the Council for Economic Mutual Aid. This circumstance is realized in a determining way in our international activity.

The endeavor to insure for our nation both peace and favorable external conditions for economic development occupies a focal place in our foreign policy. Thus, in accordance with our possibilities, we endeavor to contribute to the improvement of international relations, consolidation of the detente process, the halting of the arms race and disarmament. We maintain that the prosperity of our people is inseparably interdependent with the prosperity of other peoples and the cause of universal human progress. For this reason we assume solidarity with forces struggling for peace, for social progress and for national independence.

The Hungarian People's Republic, in the interest of promoting the universal objectives of peace and progress, is seeking to cooperate with all countries, regardless of their social system. We are working for this in the area of state contacts with the United States as well.

Our domestic and foreign policy is open and straightforward. It is not based on speculations but is founded on firm principles and historical experiences. The Hungarian people support this policy and want to see it continue unbroken in the future. We do not improvise our policy or our position nor do we change them according to the weather and thus the population of this country and our foreign partners alike can count on them and build on them securely.

#### The Experiences of Twenty Years

[Question] What are the experiences of twenty years concerning the unique socialist economy of Hungary? What are the outstanding successes and what the possible failures?

[Answer] The unique feature of the Hungarian People's economy is, first of all, the fact that we conduct a socialist planned economy based on the social ownership of the means of production and that the primary and principal goal of production is to satisfy the population's needs and regularly raise its living standards. The most important experience of what you call a unique management is that our system of economic guidance--which is now ten years old and which has aroused a certain international response--is able to create a good harmony between the central economic guiding activity of the socialist state and the independence of the enterprises on the one hand, and between the interests of society as a whole and the interests of various social strata and individuals on the other.

I see the greatest success in the economic life of the past twenty years in the fact that the foundations of the Hungarian economy are healthy and sound and that development has been even and free from setbacks or major fluctuations. The fantastic increase in the world market prices of raw



materials and energy--an increase that has seriously affected us also--has not halted economic development, has not caused unemployment, inflation or devaluation, indeed, both production and living standards have gone up even in these years.

Our national income today is 5-1/2 times as high as it was before the war. Industry produces about 12 times what it produced before 1945. Our population consumes 3 times as much per capita as it did in the years before World War II. The real value of wages today is higher by 55 to 60 percent as compared to 1960 and real incomes have more than doubled.

After the development of the producer cooperatives and with the socialist reorganization of agriculture at the beginning of the 1960s we created modern, large-scale farming. Our large-scale agricultural operations, the state farms and producer cooperatives, provide the country with almost 80 percent more raw material and food than did the agriculture of Hungary before the war--and this with half the labor force. It is a good indication of the development of agriculture that by 1977, as compared to the early 1960s, wheat production had increased from roughly 18 quintals to 40 quintals per hectare, corn production from 21 quintals to 46 quintals, as a national average, and per capita meat production from 107 kilograms to 179 kilograms.

As is well known, one unique aspect of our economy is that our country is poor in raw materials and energy. For this reason foreign trade, international economic links, play a determinative role in the development of the Hungarian economy. In 1977 exports made up almost 38 percent of the gross national product, a rate that was almost double the 1960 figure. We are developing our economic cooperation first of all with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries, but we are also seeking to strengthen our economic links with the developing countries and, on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages, with the other countries of the world as well, including the economically advanced capitalist countries. In our opinion, exploiting the advantages hiding in the international division of labor is in the interest of all countries and is an inseparable concomitant of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

You have also asked about failings. I would not be able to speak of any failings as regards our main economic endeavors and the reason is not the lack of sincerity but rather that we evaluate our economic development in a basically positive way. Naturally, this does not mean that we have never made a mistake, or that we have had no difficulties or problems. For instance, we too were wrong in our forecast and, like so many other countries, we too were taken unawares by the adverse changes in international economic life, particularly the steep price increases, which hit us rather hard. We also made some mistaken economic decisions which, although not affecting our development as a whole, did cause some damage. For instance, because of bad long-term planning, we cut back coal mining while making efforts to increase the consumption of hydrocarbons at a forced rate. We saw our error

in time and corrected it. We also have some problems stemming from the dynamic development of the economy. For instance, the manpower shortage is causing big problems.

Despite all this we are convinced that we are on the right road in the development of the economy. In every area of economic life we are making significant progress in liquidating the inherited backwardness and Hungary, which was very backward before, now belongs among the economically moderately developed countries and is gradually catching up with the developed countries. This is a realistic goal.

Helsinki and Belgrade

[Question] In your opinion, what is the value of the Helsinki agreement and the Belgrade conference?

[Answer] We appraised the European Security and Cooperation Conference held in Helsinki as an event of historic importance from the viewpoint of the detent process, and our position has not changed. With the signing of the final document an age heavy with difficult and unsettled questions and tensions ended in the life of the European peoples, the peace of the continent was placed on more lasting foundations and the road opened for a many-sided development of the cooperation of the 35 participating countries, the European countries and the United States and Canada. The agreement represented the victory of sober reason and constructive will over the high degree of isolation and distrust which existed at the time of the cold war. All this not only ~~aided~~ an improvement in the European political atmosphere but also had a favorable effect on other areas of the world.

A wide variety of views are held with regard to the Belgrade meeting. We feel that, in assessing this also, we must start from the existing realities, and can therefore say with conviction that it produced the result which was possible in the given situation. Of course, we cannot yet say that the agreements reached in the Finnish capital have already won full acceptance. But we must not lose sight of the fact that we are at the first stages in the implementation of a highly complex long-term program and that a lot more effort will still be needed. The Hungarian People's Republic, as it has so far, will continue to be ready in the future also to take its share in these efforts.

The Communist Movement

[Question] How do you view Eurocommunism and what does it portend for future East-West relations?

[Answer] The judgment of so-called Eurocommunism depends on who is viewing it and from which side. The forces defending capitalism, on the one hand, are trying to exploit it to drive a wedge between the communist parties and, on the other hand, they consider it a threat because they are afraid

that Western European communist parties may get into the governments and share the power.

Some bourgeois experts are misinterpreting the fact that the parties of the communist movement in Western Europe and in other parts of the world also are seeking policies corresponding to the new, changed situation, policies which in their opinion best suit the given concrete conditions. The positions of some Western European communist parties differ from country to country but it is still true that there are many similar aspects and it is natural that things which are the same can be found in their policies also. It is also true that their conception of the road leading to socialism, conceptions which are similar to one another, differ in several respects from that road which the socialist countries of today took under different historical circumstances and follow today. But it would be a fundamental error to draw the conclusion from this that some sort of new, so-called Eurocommunist trend was developing in opposition to the other parties within the international communist movement. He who hopes this or bases his calculations upon it will sooner or later become the victim of his own error. Today, the position of the international communist movement--and within it that of the communist parties of Western Europe--is basically characterized by development, the growing strength and influence of these parties and, parallel with this, by the continual changing of the conditions for their struggle. It is a natural consequence of all this that the communist party, amidst the changed conditions, must also give answers to the new problems arising in the course of development. In the interest of this, they carefully assess the international and specific domestic conditions of their struggle, the traditions of their countries and, if need be, they modify certain elements of their policy. This is not only the right but also the obligation of every party.

There have always been, there are at present, and there obviously will be differences of opinion and debates between communist parties in assessing various questions of ideology, policy, tactics or strategies. This is a natural consequence of the fact that they are not narrow sects isolated from life but rather constitute a movement which is closely and comprehensively linked to our contemporary complex and many-colored world. In my opinion all this does not represent any misfortune if the parties working amidst different conditions are bound together by an identity of fundamental principles, interests and objectives and, on the basis of this, by a common solidarity voluntarily assumed.

As regards the position taken by the European communist movement on East-West relations, this was essentially and clearly formulated in June 1976 by the Berlin Conference of the communist parties of this continent. The communists--whether they live and work in countries with a socialist or a capitalist social system--agreed that one of their most important tasks is to contribute, with their own work also, to the safeguarding of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, to curbing the arms race and to the preservation of peace. The European communist and workers parties maintain that the relaxation of international tension

creates the most favorable conditions for a solution of the burning social problems of the several countries and of the greatest fateful questions for mankind--problems of energy and raw material supply, multilateral aid for developing countries, the economic cooperation of countries, the liquidation of zones of hunger, protection of the environment, disarmament and the preservation of peace. If there were communist parties in the governments of more European countries than at present then this would serve the rapprochement of peoples and the development of multilateral contacts among countries and the great common problems of mankind would receive greater attention and come closer to solution.

#### Hungary and the United States

[Question] How do you view your relations today with the United States, and what development do you count on in the future? What are the essential problems between the two countries? How can they be solved?

[Answer] I consider our relations with the United States today to be basically settled. This results from the fact that we have solved problems that prevented the development of these relations. In the course of past years we have settled the pending financial questions, the American people have returned to our people the historic symbol of our thousand years as a state, the Hungarian crown and coronation regalia. Even earlier we had signed an interstate cultural, educational and technical-scientific agreement and most recently we have signed a trade agreement. In the past few days the American Congress approved the signed agreement concerning trade relations between the United States and Hungary. The Senate decision is still to come. Legislative approval of this agreement would remove the still existing obstacles from the path of mutually advantageous Hungarian-American economic contacts free of discrimination.

We are optimistic as regards the future. The two countries--in view of the existing great geographical distance separating them, the disparity in size, the difference in social systems and other differences--cannot of course be placed under a common denominator. In spite of this, I believe that real and good possibilities exist for the development of economic, political, technical and scientific and cultural relations. Our peoples harbor no hostile feelings toward each other. The agreements signed provide a good framework for cooperation and, I trust, both sides will utilize this to mutual advantage. The essential thing is that we concentrate our attention from both sides on those things requiring common efforts. I am thinking, for example, of giving content to the cooperation frameworks which have already developed practically, in the economic, technical-scientific and cultural areas alike.

Our foreign trade with the United States at present constitutes only 2 percent of the overall volume of Hungarian foreign trade, and some 4 percent of the total volume of our trade with capitalist countries. In our opinion, there should be possibilities for increasing not only trade but also production

cooperation. Experiences to date have not been unfavorable. I might mention as good examples the cooperation of Hungarian and American farms in industrial corn production, or the cooperation of the Gyor Car Factory in the manufacture of Raba-Steiger tractors, or the cooperation with International Harvester Chicago within the framework of which certain agricultural machines are being manufactured in Hungary on the basis of an American license while the firm named receives rear axle assemblies from a Hungarian enterprise.

Multilateral cooperation could also be realized in Hungarian-American relations and the cooperation we have developed with a few significant Western European capitalist countries provides a good example of the possibility for contact at various levels. Naturally, respect for the other country's social and political system and laws is a fundamental condition for cooperation. We have shown readiness in the past for the development of relations in this way and will continue to show such readiness in the future too. We are ready to examine every proposal with due attention.

[Question] Is it possible for Hungary, as a socialist country, to have independent and close relations with Western Europe and the United States? How are Hungary's relations developing with its neighbors?

[Answer] The Hungarian People's Republic is a sovereign independent country, and the Hungarian officials responsible for the development of international relations carry on their activities according to the provisions of the constitution, with parliamentary approval, based on decisions taken by the supreme state authorities. Our country has common frontiers with five European countries, four of which are socialist--the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. There are bonds of friendship and cooperation between Hungary and these countries in all spheres of life. Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation, which can with good reason be called historic, is a matter of principle for us, a natural element of our policy, and at the same time is the most genuine interest of our people. Our Western neighbor is the neutral Austrian republic, with which our relations are developing effectively in all areas. Our cooperation with Austria, in our judgment, provides a good example for the practical implementation of the principles adopted at Helsinki.

Your know that our relations with a number of Western European countries are very broad and are developing. The Hungarian People's Republic also is building up wide-ranging, mutually advantageous independent relations with countries in other regions of the world. In these past few weeks a number of equal right agreements have been signed with your government also. We also demonstrated at Helsinki that we were ready, on the basis of the principles set down in the final document, to further expand our cooperation with states which have different social arrangements than our own, thus with the United States and with the Western European countries also.

## A Crucial Period

[Question] How do you feel about the evolution of international relations in the space age?

[Answer] The space age--which we also call the atomic age--is an expression which calls attention to the fact that in our day the development of science and technology, offering unlimited prospects to mankind, has accelerated in an extraordinary way.

The age in which we live is a crucial one. It can turn out to have been either a blessing or a curse for all mankind. It can be a period of well-being for the peoples, of harmonious cooperation among the various nations, but it could be the age of the terrible final destruction of the peoples. What will happen with mankind is being decided now.

Our generation has the duty of safeguarding mankind's future. In essence we have reached a crossroad--the reassuring prospect of the harmonious coexistence of states, of the expansion of their fruitful bilateral and multilateral contacts, stands face to face with the ultimate danger of a thermonuclear war threatening the destruction of all human civilization. Obviously, everything must be done to prevent the outbreak of a new world war.

It is my sincere hope that our age will enter the history of the world before all else as the age in which the foundations were laid for the peaceful future of mankind, an age which makes possible the unimpeded realization of the ideals of democracy and humanism, the national-social progress of the people, the solution of the common problems of the world and the free development of the personality of every single individual.

The special session of the United Nations organization convened to discuss the question of disarmament is now meeting. It appears from the survey of the situation there also that words must be followed by deeds. What is needed before all else is that a sober political position should be victorious over business interests attaching to an increase in the arms race, that effective and comprehensive disarmament measures be taken as soon as possible.

It is an indisputable reality of our age that even thus far the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States has had a crucial influence on the development of the international situation. Therefore, together with other peoples desiring peace, the Hungarian people also hope for a favorable development of Soviet-American relations which would give a new impetus to a further favorable development of international relations.

It is the objective interest of all mankind that the development of international relations should be in the direction of an ever fuller realization

of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Every responsible political factor must act in the interest of this today. The government of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, in accordance with the wishes of our people, also desires to serve this end.

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HUNGARY

TRUST, CANDOR, DIALOGUE SHOULD CHARACTERIZE PARTY'S WORKING STYLE

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 3, Mar 78 pp 3-14.

[Interview with Sandor Borbely, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by unidentified reporter: "Conversations with Sandor Borbely about Party's Working Style"; no date given.]

[Text] [Question] Our party, generally the MSZMP particularly in recent years, has devoted a great deal of attention to working style, the development and improvement of working method. The question can rightfully be raised as to how such attention can be explained, how it relates to basic political activity, and the consistent realization of the party's leading role.

[Answer] I believe that before speaking of the party's working style, I should speak in general of relations within the party. It is my opinion that these relations are good from all points of view. There is democratic order in the party, and the Leninist norms are being realized. I regard it as important to state all this in order that we can discuss the questions frankly.

We are helped in a correct evaluation of the situation by the fact that a review is now being conducted in the party. We are assessing what development we have attained to since the 11th Congress in carrying out the resolutions, and in our political, economic, social and ideological life. This also means an examination of our accounting capability, and in this connection we shall also put our working style to a test.

The party's role and responsibility have changed, and we have had to meet greater requirements in the past decade and a half. A normal accompaniment of this development is that in the future the party, in all certainty, will have to face even greater tasks. It is also clear that we shall be able to speak of the realization of the party's leading role if our policy is realized in practice. The facts of life show that this is how it is, and this also shows that our working method and style correspond basically to the requirements and helps make party policy the leading guide to action in an increasingly broader area of the masses.

The party itself is a living organization. To the extent that life develops, the party, too, must develop, as well as its working method and style. It



constantly adjusts itself to concrete circumstances, and therefore keeps pace with the requirements of life. If this were not so, it would lose its flexibility and its ties with life and the masses.

We have experienced over the more than past 2 decades that the leading role of the party is being strengthened above all because the people's interest is embodied in its policy. The political goals of the party express the interests of the working masses, and this is exactly why it can count on their participation in the realization of these goals. Therefore, we may say that the decisions and program statement of the 11th Congress have become the national program.

Every policy has a definite style and method. They go indivisibly together. I believe that the main characteristic of our style and method is the great confidence it encounters in all strata of society. Mutual confidence assumes openness, regular and continuing dialogue with the different strata of workers. The party membership, too, can only understand in this way the changes which are regularly taking place in the life relations, the thinking, and the customs of individual strata of society. In addition to confidence, another important feature is the quality of composure. In the course of our development, problems have risen a number of times of which we can say that if the party had not judged them with appropriate composure and moderation, we could have passed to extremes from which we could not find our way back. Composure excludes extreme fluctuations from policy.

Balance also belongs to our working style and method. This, of course, must be conceived of dialectically, in the knowledge that here also the unity and struggle of contraries is realized. I would also include patience. In the past 20 years we have had to solve very great problems — the socialist transformation of agriculture, the structural transformation of industry, and the reform of the economic management system. If we had failed to bring the masses to understand these, our good efforts would not have fallen on fertile ground. This is why there is also need for patience. Parallel with this, we must conduct great work in order to have the masses understand matters. Another important quality is moderation. We have to know where we should contribute and where deduct, for without this the best feeling and intention can lead in a bad direction.

I believe it is important to stress that the party is developing in a healthy way. We often assert this, but I would like to support the statement with reasons as well. It is a reflection of our development that a democratic atmosphere is prevailing in the party. It is no less important that the party's capability for action has developed a great deal. To a large extent, it can be ascribed to this that the matters have been solved centrally and locally. It is also important that many matters have been clarified substantively in the party by way of discussion and exchange of views. We have a politically sophisticated and strong party membership, and we the office holders must respect them appropriately. Perhaps my observation is not to the point, but as I see it we are a party of people who do not simply express views, but rather responsibility. Communists address problems in knowledge of the fact that they themselves must come up with the solutions. That is, the essence of what they have to say consists of what I (we) as communist(s) have

to do or say to carry out the work. You can sense a personal responsibility for policy, and this is the responsibility of the man of action.

We meditate a great deal over how we should further develop the nature and substance of our work. I am convinced that people's interest in public life and policy has increased. Now you cannot stand up in front of audiences with merely any kind of "text." This situation is a test for the leaders, and sometimes, in fact, it becomes evident that some of them cannot measure up, and therefore they close themselves in and "give orders" from their office. We also have to take a look at this situation.

Obviously, intensified interest and activity will sometimes surface which do not always find a sympathetic reaction. But we need not fear these. In such a case we need to hold discussions and come to an understanding with these men. Some of our comrades, however, cannot carry on this struggle, and this is a warning to us. Increased activity, to be sure, calls for well-prepared leaders. In discussions, we should not seek to overcome or to silence the other person, and it is an erroneous point of view that we should "overcome." We must always search for a synthesis, not for who said what and how, and in what function, but what kind of value was carried by what he said. We must reckon with this because if there is an increasing number of active people in society, this is even more true of the party.

Let me add that we cannot simplify this to some kind of generation problem. The adult, the older generation is also politically more active. But there is another side to this — today we are more aware of people's activity. We pay greater attention, more heed; this reacts on the activity of the party membership and the masses, and increases it all the more.

We must still look to see what lessons we can derive for ourselves from the accounting. Do we have problems of execution? Yes, we do! Do we have attitudinal problems? Yes, we do! And we must see that all these are to be felt both in the party and the state organs. Where the attitudinal problems exist, it always becomes clear when we strive for the concrete. Affairs, to be sure, occur not in general but in the concrete, and it is in the concrete that we must judge whether they bear comparison with our political principles.

It is important to strengthen and maintain in the party a political atmosphere which will afford appropriate political security. We are living through an important phase of the transformation of the product structure, essential changes are perceptible in agriculture, and these are accompanied by social and structural changes, and at times like these initiative plays a great role. If the person of initiative, however, does not sense political security, we cannot advance. It has been exactly one of the bases of our rapid development in recent years that the number of people with initiative has increased both in the party and society, and we must continue to strengthen this trend.

It has been the basic feature of our working style in the past 2 decades that the party, after studying the total circumstances and grasping the main trends

of development, seeks to reveal the main consequences of the changes to avoid an unnecessary sharpening of the conflict between the old and the new. Specific steps of development are always opposed or supported by resolute people, and thus in the conflict between the old and the new, human relations are expressed, and concrete group and strata interests. It is to the great credit of the party that on the ground of a socialist community of interests it realized among all working classes and strata a unity which has assured the active participation of all constructive forces in building work. Naturally, every day of life brings new conflicts into being. The art of political leadership by the party is manifested when it recognizes these conflicts in time and guides the way to a solution so that the unity and federation will remain undamaged and be strengthened.

Another circumstance which leads us nowadays to talk more than usual about working style is that the building of a developed socialist society is a more complicated task from every point of view, and the qualitative requirements are greater. Thus the demand is also greater on the party that it confront and solve new problems more rapidly. This is also related to working style.

Undoubtedly, a role is also played by the fact that social mobility is accelerated with the development of technology and science. This cannot be left out of consideration. We cannot close the gates against scientific-technological progress, for it invades our everyday life and we must deal with it. This requires scientific preparation, a different attitude, and a new kind of relation to practical problems. To mention one matter only, the transformation of the product structure has important social effects. The meaning of this I have lived through at Csepel. For example, when we discontinued the manufacture of motor bicycles and turned to the production of new products, human values became reevaluated. Practiced, skilled workers — some of whom had been on the job for 30 years — had to enter on new jobs. This is not simply a technical problem but also a social question.

It is not by accident that I raise this problem. We cannot close the gates of the country saying "do not come, scientific and technological revolution, because we are not ready for you." The party must look ahead, and consider what are the consequences of changing the product structure. If a change does come about, it seeks to reveal the accompanying conflicts in order to avoid harmful consequences. It must keep pace with every social projection of this process. Without this, there can be no change of any kind in our economic life.

It is very important that we follow carefully how mass relations develop in the struggle for economic modernization and that we win the support of the masses for our economic goals. We must develop our working style in such a way that the masses will continue to feel these goals are their own.

This great attention to the support of the masses derives from the leading role of the party. Its strengthening and constant renovation is a basic problem. It is not enough that these relations be good, they need to be constantly renewed.

[Question] The essential features of our party's working style is practicality and a dialectical unity of revolutionary foresight based on science. In other words, we must solve the everyday tasks in such a way that we keep in mind the perspectives of development as well. Comrade Kadar put the idea in this way to the Third National Conference of Producer Cooperatives — we must solve the concrete problems and tasks in such a way that we are at the same time looking ahead and reckoning with future tasks as well. In your judgment, how characteristic is this working style of our party organizations?

[Answer] While the Central Committee constantly follows the everyday practice of life in its manifold problems, it also seeks to follow their forward-pointing trends. At times, when we have enough experience available to us, we also deal separately with the perspective development of a given area. This is what we did not long ago when we examined the development of our foreign economic policy and the production structure. But this is also what we did with the cooperative movement, with the problems of teaching and education policy, and so on. We can calmly state that there is not one important area of social life for which the party does not have a comprehensive resolution position indicating the concrete direction of long range development. It is in such a comprehensive and forward-pointing way that the party's program statement outlines the direction of social development.

I believe that these positions of the Central Committee — beyond serving, for example, as a method — provide a good starting point for the concrete development programs of the area party organizations. A good starting basis, of course, cannot give cause for imitation, and it cannot represent a formula. Concretely constructive, independent work is not dispensable here. But I should also like to emphasize that we should not work on the plans for the future as if we had to come up with something, or dream it up in some prophetic way. Life is such that it always produces those who are moving ahead and those who are lagging behind. We always have, therefore, a basis of comparison — on one hand, we must relate to the internationally advanced front, and on the other hand to those domestic enterprises, institutions, which by their levels are already representing the future. Overtaking them, following them or surpassing them perhaps is one of the material bases of perspective planning. To this end, of course, we must take into account and assure a whole series of objective and subjective conditions deriving from the concrete situation.

We have a number of industrial enterprises already in operation, like for example, the Raba Railroad Car and Machine Factory at Győr, and the United Incandescent, which can be models of modernity, technical level, technology and organization. But I could also mention a good number of our agricultural plants which could serve as examples. It is true that different conditions play a role in different results, and these must be taken into account. But it is also true that these conditional differences can be evened out sooner or later through human efforts. In fact, this must be planned in dealing with perspectives, without forgetting even the use of small possibilities.

In recent months, the megye party committees prepared an account of the execution of the resolutions by the 11th Congress. In this respect, we experienced that the working style of which Comrade Kadar spoke is more characteristic of the area party organs, and also, I may add, of the party organizations operating in various areas of economic life. These party committees reckon very seriously with the future, with the kind of problems that must be solved over the long run. Party organizations have made it a practice to plan not only for a half year ahead but for 5 years or longer, that is, with perspective in mind.

Long range planning immediately calls our attention to a whole series of matters, among other things, cadre work, recruitment education, etc. A look into the future also means that we should be able to plan the organization and cadre conditions of future activity. There is another side to this question, namely, that the party organizations must proceed from the possible and not from what would be the ideal. Because it is useless for us to provide an institute or enterprise with material means if the political and personal conditions would make it impossible for them to use these means. I know very talented managers in the country who have created significant values with their personal abilities. Therefore, it is very important that we should assure the cadre conditions for our plans. In the majority of national decisions with long range effects, we must take into account, of course, not only domestic but also international circumstances. We must reckon very seriously with this factor as well because the changes that will come about here will strongly influence the realization of the decisions.

[Question] One of the essential elements of our policy is the relationship between the party and those who do not belong to the party, the relationship of the party to the masses. What are those features of the party's working style which we must strengthen and develop to this end?

[Answer] I think I have already spoken of this political interrelationship, but it is also advisable to speak of some of the practical aspects of the question. The party's political goals serve the people's interests. Without appropriate relations with the masses these cannot be realized. A basic element of the relationship with the masses is the mutual confidence and openness mentioned earlier. A deep confidence in the working masses is the basis of our policy. Therefore the MSZMP congresses always devoted great attention to this, and it also appears as a basic problem in the program statement.

It is closely related to our federation policy. Beyond expressing the general social interests, the party's policy can extend to the concrete interests of individual classes and layers — which is one of the important bases of our federation policy — only if it constantly receives indications of these interests by virtue of its mass relationships. Therefore, if the party wants to politicize successfully, it must constantly strengthen its relationships with the masses. It is in this relationship that we must also deal with a timeliness for developing socialist democracy. This has many practical aspects like measures serving to develop plant democracy, the general improvement of orientation, the development of democratism in state life and the simplification of public administration work, an increased role for mass organizations, a more effective realization of party democracy, etc.

We are seeking to have the masses accept our policies more and more and participate in their realization more actively and consciously. This effort guides us in further broadening the existing political relations between people and party. With this, a greater part of the people will become active in public life. This mass activity cannot be displaced by certain forums. The conditions for this, too, must be created, and this means that the party must be conscientiously prepared for the development of socialist democracy and mass work. It is not enough to create the various forums and say "why don't you use your rights?" — for that you also need an appropriate atmosphere and preparation. Above all, the party must be prepared, by continuing practice up to now, to conduct a regular dialogue with the people, the masses, the population, and activate the various forums accordingly.

In the party organizations, there is need for greater openness in political work. The party organization which excessively obfuscates its activity is going on a bad road. Where they do not circulate their thoughts and initiatives among the masses, there is a leadership problem. The party's working method requires that its ideas, plans and political resolutions be made known in wide scope.

We need to investigate more incisively what kind of personal influence and relations the party members have with their environment. If the connections are good, it is normal that the problems must be discussed. If the atmosphere is an open one, they will also present at the party membership meeting the positions of those who do not belong to the party.

The party organization which shuts itself off from the masses and does not make their views known is in fact not fulfilling its own basic obligations. There the democratic atmosphere is not being developed, and no appropriate relationship exists between the party members and those who do not belong to the party. Such a party organization lives actually for itself, and is not fulfilling its functions. Here I would like to note that the party organizations, the communists need to pay greater attention to the everyday cares and problems of people. Every possibility within the law must be used for granting assistance. Indifference, listlessness and bureaucratism are incompatible with the communist mentality, and therefore we must fight relentlessly against these phenomena. The willingness to help people who are struggling with problems belongs among the most noble characteristics of the communists, and they must be outstanding in this regard in a far-reaching manner.

[Question] Although party resolutions are always of a political nature, they are always closely related to the decisions of the technical leaders, and in fact they assume in themselves a certain historical nature. What requirements does this levy in party work, and in political guidance?

[Answer] I would begin by saying that the two cannot be separated, we are speaking of the two sides of the same coin. Political decisions are always linked to concrete social reality, to some technical area thereof. Although these sides belong together and appear together in practice, they also have a certain relative independence. This is also manifested in that politics

reveal human and social interrelationships, study their mutual effects, and deal with the more general viewpoints of special lines.

One of the essential features of our party's working style is the observance of these basic principles. We never interpret the priority of politics to mean devaluation of the technical areas, and on the contrary we hold them in far-reaching respect. We never try to displace them or ignore their points of view. We require this mutuality also from the leaders of the technical lines.

Political leadership can never make itself independent of technical leadership. This is so, on one hand, because we must weigh the social effect of our decisions, its practical influence on human relations, and its political consequences. In this sense, a high degree of technical realization is of political importance. Political weight is also carried by the fact that in our society technicians understand and know the useful, positive role of their activity from the social point of view. Moreover, it is also of political importance for us to create such atmosphere and confidence around them as will assure to the maximum the free unfolding of their initiative, their creative frame of mind and their responsible work.

By nature, technical viewpoints are more narrow than the political, which are always concerned with weighing more general social relationships. But at the same time, political leadership cannot do without at least a certain degree of understanding of technical matters since it has its own "technical character" (political theories, political leadership capability, talents, and so forth). Therefore, it is unconditional that our political decisions should be appropriately based and technically oriented. This is one of the troublesome problems of our present development.

I regard it of primary importance that the party organization should know exactly the reality in which it operates. Technical outlook is not the equivalent of technical understanding. For a given party organization, technical outlook means that if some kind of a problem arises in the area, it should understand the nature thereof. This is competence, but does not mean ready technical understanding. Technicians make proposals on many questions which they see only one way as technically very important. It is the work of political leadership to judge what is being proposed, whether or not it exceeds the carrying capacity of society, and whether it can sustain its criticism.

For this reason, it must define very exactly the objective and subjective conditions. What the technicians propose must be respected, but when a political decision is born in some kind of question, it should be closely studied what kind of socio-political consequences will derive therefrom. Account must also be taken of possible consequences. We must think of what contradictions and difficulties we may encounter and whether we are capable of guarding against these or putting an end to them. If not, there is no use in our making a decision in their favor, for we will only cause the problems to spiral and create a more complicated and difficult situation.

The party organization should solve the tasks politically, and it should not make decisions in place of the technical leadership. In matters, for example, involving the transformation of the product structure, the party organization has the obligation to study how it can solve the political and human background. To prepare people for a basic change is a very difficult task. It is here that technical competence has a very great role in party work along with the experiences of political leadership. Without these experiences, technical understanding is deficient, and vice versa.

At present, the role of a national economic outlook has increased. The lower organs are unconditionally obligated to initiate changes in their areas. But in any event, it is necessary to take into account the capability of the economy, namely, whether the targeted change is possible, and in what way. But leaving this out of account, there have been many conflicts up to now, and there will continue to be in the future, I am convinced.

And since we are here, it must be said that in this respect, too, the matters become confused. For example, party organizations discuss subjects which the economic or council organs should deal with, and overlapping is frequent when matters are examined from the same line of approach. At times, jurisdictional levels are not properly observed.

Party work, the operation of the party organization is not an end to itself anywhere. If a party organization renews itself only at the previous level and brings nothing new either in mass relations or preparation, then it regularly fails to meet the tasks. For this reason, there is frequent conflict between a modern economic leader and a backward one.

[Question] Constructive debate which strengthens action unity is a natural accessory of our party life. But experiences also show that these debates frequently take place outside of party forums, or are at least of lesser intensity. What is the reason for this, and what relations does it have to the party's working style?

[Answer] I do not think it would be fortunate to answer with an absolute yes or no to the question, whether debates frequently take place outside of party forums. There is some truth and untruth in the question. First of all we must differentiate between debate within the party and the declaration of varying opinions. Beyond the expression of varying opinions and confrontations, debate also includes synthesis. If we look at the question from this point of view, I must, in fact recognize that there are weaknesses. This kind of complex interpretation and practice of debate is still not always characteristic of party organizations.

Secondly, I believe that the spirit of debate, the culture of debate is at a high level in our party. This could be illustrated by many examples. Today there are no questions so "delicate" that it is impossible to talk about them or discuss them. I am very familiar with the atmosphere prevailing in the workers collectives and among agricultural workers and of this I can only say that they do not hide their discussions under a bushel, but reveal them frankly



at every forum and at an appropriate cultural level. We need to guard this debating culture in our party and develop it rationally further.

Thirdly, a great deal depends on what kind of spirit and atmosphere exist in the forums. If those who conduct the discussions are, in fact, curious to learn the views and strive to develop a proper synthesis, they encourage discussion and do not make a prestige matter out of contrary views and possible distortions of form or stress in the objections. There is also a kind of culture in guiding discussions. All these things, however, belong here, and indeed there are various pedagogical methods of encouragement. To give an example, discussions are conducted in generalities, and they never tell someone who speaks up whether they agree with him or not. If there is never a specific reaction to someone's comments, it is understandable that he will lose interest in discussion. Sometimes it is experienced that the matter of the debate, the views that have been voiced are not taken into account in making a decision. This cannot be stimulating to the spirit of discussion.

Discussion is also often made more difficult by the fact that we bring such "general" matters as make it difficult to comment. Worthwhile discussions occur in membership meetings regularly when the question proposed is of interest to every party member. Thus essential questions should be taken to the forums. And the leadership must be well prepared to conduct the discussions, knowing what goals it wants to attain and possibilities for the unfolding of the debate.

The report-back meetings show this also. More than 30 percent of the participants request and receive the floor. This is a significant number. But not only is the number of those commenting different from what it was formerly, but also the value of what is said. More and more, for example, people raise questions about local public life.

There are various reasons why discussions often take place outside the forums. This does not follow from the general practice of the party. Many things can be enumerated — for example, the factor of ease — which make people turn down the consequences deriving from debate, because it can frequently be accompanied by the agitation of clashes. Nor is the preparation of those participating in the debate the same, and if there is an enormous amount of professional expression of views, some of the people in the audience are frightened off.

We ourselves often wonder what comment we should make, and how. Now then, let us understand the situation of a so-called simple party member — if the plant manager has already expressed his opinion, it is very difficult to speak against him given unequal preparation and unequal background reasoning material. Understandably, people express their opinions most willingly about subjects which are directly related to their work and which they know. But what a manual worker knows, a director or other manager may not know for sure. From this, too, we can deduce that we need to develop our debating culture because it is only in this way that opinions built on divergent experiences and knowledge can find similar acknowledgement.

I have also experienced at meetings of the megye executive committee that people are frequently satisfied to make comments and not to dispute divergent opinions. But this, let me put it this way, also depends on the discussion leader, and on what subject he wants a discussion. I know some comrades, more than a few, who provoke debate for their own security. This is how they feel that the decision is politically well based and correct.

[Question] The unity of political-ideological and organizational-control work belongs among the main features of the party's working style. What are our most important experiences from this point of view? Have we succeeded in bringing about a better harmony among analysis, decision and execution?

[Answer] We are speaking here of a very important matter. Here too, we are witnesses to an important development. Experiences, however, have brought us to a recognition of the fact that we must pay increased attention to execution. No matter how good the decisions are that we make we will not reach the desired result if we do not take execution seriously enough and if we do not create the necessary conditions.

A whole series of examples show how consistently political decisions have been realized in the recent past. I would mention the realization of the vegetable-fruit program. But there are examples like this in other areas of economic life as well. Despite the undoubted results, the steady realization of harmony conceived in the question is an essential factor in the further modernization of working style.

Now in every organization of the party they see more and more clearly that political decisions, no matter how proper and no matter how much agreement they meet with, are not realized automatically. In a community of general interests a broad theoretical understanding can be developed, but this possibility will not become a real, action unity of itself. For that, differing views must be struggled with which hinder understanding on principle. Therefore, ideological work is an indispensable condition for the success of every political decision. It is the task of ideological work to create an understanding on principle in face of those views which are being suggested one-sidedly by various interests.

We must also see that political decisions are not realized automatically because while the general understanding on principle is linked to general interests, execution itself affects more directly the sphere of concrete interests. It is an illusion to expect that harmony will come about here of itself, instinctively, and without conscious political, ideological and organization work.

Ideological, political work has an important role in seeing that the contradictions which exist in the relationship of various interests should be solved without particular conflicts, with the use of appropriate measures and material and more incentives, and not hindering the execution.

Development stimulates us to a better synchronization of decisions and execution. Without this, to be sure, a political complication can arise which will tie

down the strength of the whole party. In examining the matters in this relationship, I see the causes of the problems related to execution primarily in that on one hand the view still survives which subconsciously assumes some kind of automatism between ideological-political and action unity. On the other hand, our party organizations are not always capable of such work organization as would assure the above-mentioned harmony, and they do not reckon adequately with the obstacles that can be expected in the way of execution. Consequently, they cannot overcome these in time, and fairly often postponement and delay in phase will occur.

When we take the problems into account, we must of course see the development as well. In 1977, we succeeded essentially in realizing the unity of basic political action. Neither in industry nor in agriculture could we have achieved the well-known results if a favorable harmony of this kind had not existed in the work of the Central Committee, the government, and the lower organs.

The lessons of 1977 also allow us to conclude that we need to continue working in this spirit. Intelligent, understanding, and well-prepared people are working in the executive area, and central guidance must proceed from here. What belongs to us, what is our responsibility, we must deal with, and we must not pass these things off to those who by their positions are not able to solve these things.

In this relationship, I would like to speak of the action programs. In 1977, the action programs were nearer to reality, to those tasks which had to be solved. We did not consider how many aspects the action programs consisted of, but how concretely the tasks played a role therein. These programs played a significant role in that in the economic and political sphere everyone worked on the basis of a unified plan. I can say forthrightly that it has been a long time since such unity was evident in policy realization as last year.

[Question] On basis of the resolution of the 11th Congress, the party organizations in recent times have struggled more and more successfully against formalism, bureaucratism, and unspecific generalities in party work. In your judgment, how far have we come in this respect and what are the main experiences, lessons of this struggle for the party organizations?

[Answer] I think it is obvious that the struggle against formalism is not equivalent to a general rejection of forms which assure the order of party life, and its organized nature. I say nothing new when I point out that the party organizations must operate in appropriate order, and political content is always tied to definite organizational forms. An organizational life must be followed, membership meetings must be held, etc. This is the order of party life.

In my opinion, that operation can be called formalistic which is without strength and efficiency. In party and political work, effectiveness is generally basic. Our activity is not for its own self, every party organization works for some kind of goal and if somewhere some program is without concrete

substance, goal and result, then it was in fact formalistic and unnecessary. We must unconditionally protest against such unnecessary and irrational matters. At the same time, we have developed in party life useful forms which must be guarded. Eternal, incessant reorganization and innovation will not eliminate formalistic methods; on the contrary it will even bring with it tremendous dangers. We must be very careful with innovations that they should settle in and not upset people with their appearance.

When and under what circumstances can party work temporarily fall into formalism? When a party organization, for example, cannot be prepared for analysis, when it merely "executes" but does not substantively understand what is going on. We frequently hand out decisions to the party organizations for the analysis of which they cannot prepare themselves adequately, and this is not only their own fault. Moreover, if they do not understand reality, they do not understand their environment. They receive a "ukase" which they read to a membership meeting, but they are unable to take account of the reality that surrounds them. Formalism is born if they are not able to adapt the ideas and decisions of the party's upper organs. For this, feeling and political boldness are required. Attention must be paid to this because if the political decisions are not adapted to the given reality, the contrary effect may be achieved.

If it is a question of the resolutions, let me say that nowadays a great deal of criticism is levelled at the directing party organs because there are many resolutions and these cause the party organizations a tremendous amount of work. This may be true, and in any event this must be studied carefully. But I see the main problem in the fact that we frequently obfuscate the resolutions themselves and we do not regard them as leading principles, guidelines for the solution of concrete problems in our own reality. The resolutions can never represent a task or work independent of their own reality for any party organization at all.

It can be the source of problems if the party organization leadership does not have sufficient experience, and it seeks to counter this by realizing prestige points of view. It is a dangerous matter if prestige prevails in political activity anywhere. This too can be a cause of formalism. And then formalism brings in its wake the inability of the party organization to renew itself.

One of the marks of an incorrect working style among party workers is that they sit at their desk and do not want to move away from there. One comrade put what must be done in this way: "Less for the office and more for reality." There can be something alluring in this slogan-type saying, but it can also be done among the people and less in the office. But this does not release us from the obligation to review our experiences, for otherwise we could not make use of them.

I believe that this is a problem which we will continue to discuss a great deal in the party, for the simple reason that it is people who do this work. People — with varying characteristics, endowments and proclivities. It is very important for us to synchronize varying human capabilities. This, too, is a condition of our ability to carry out more worthwhile work.

[Question] Our party organizations are not only the main directors and organizers of political work in the operational field, but are also increasingly stronger communist communities. At the same time, it is one of the important lessons we learn from membership card exchange that this process is not free of internal contradictions. Where do you see the essence of these things, and the methods of their solution?

[Answer] Here we proceed from the point that our movement is man centered. Without this, we cannot speak of a communist community; without this, a given group of people is only a mass and not a true community.

It is the great strength of this community that it forms and changes man. And in such a way that its personality does not die out but true values are developed which are used by the movement.. Man thus becomes an active, public life personality. He does not become simply a member of the organization but a fighting, active member.

New forces are constantly coming into the ranks of the party frequently interpreting matters differently from the way older members do. For the new, party affairs assume a different form, and comradely relations are manifested in a different way. This is an objective matter. We must reckon with this, and the older members of the party should not knead them to their own likeness but educate them as communists who meet the realities of today. And this is a two-way street, for our new comrades also have an effect on us. Sometimes they make us aware of the fact that in some things we have lagged behind in life.

One cannot always work with the same heat. Sometimes a person grows tired, and then the community has a large role. It is particularly important that an individual should be cared for.

The necessary conditions exist for our party organizations to be good communist communities. What do I regard as important? Preparedness, knowledge, competence in policy and profession, united behavior and action, and no less an interest in the community and toward one another, a sense of responsibility for our comrades and others.

At the time we entered into relations with the movement, we encountered more experienced comrades who gave us their attention. They cared about our human concerns and joys. For example, they asked whether we had eaten or not, etc. They talked with us about what we should study or where we should go for entertainment. They were also convinced of our possible faults. We were in a community where we had comrades and friends. We need to do the same today. Not everything can be blamed on a world that is in a hurry. I know very many comrades who suffer for lack of anyone to talk to about their problems. The essential thing about a community is that it frees a person from superfluous tensions and dissolves his conflicts. It is not enough merely to pass out the task of maintaining organizational rules; this in itself does not create a communist community.

Let me tell how in relation with the membership card exchange we learned of instances that provided food for thought. In one factory, for example, someone reported that she wanted to leave the party. When we asked why, she said her husband had left her, she was rearing three children, she was subrenting, she was commuting from the province, and could not participate in party programs. It was surprising that no one working with her in the same shop knew of all this. What kind of community is it where the person is not the center?

Frequently under the slogan of comradeship we hurt and offend others so that relations are irreparable. We fail to remember that what we say, our observations, are frequently a source of injury.

The world is moving faster and people are more sensitive. If someone is working a great deal, he can rightfully expect to receive at least a good word, that his work be recognized. The need for a community to be sensitive to various human problems to influence development in a good direction and helpful way plays an important role in working style and method.

Hence the development and modernization of working style is a very complex process, which is tied in fact to each and every one of our activities. The needs of practice and development require that we should progressively renew ourselves, and that our working style should promote more and more the successful realization of the party's policy.

6691

CSO : 2500

RADIO FREE EUROPE ALLEGEDLY TAKEN IN BY FALSE STORY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Jun 78 p 2

[Article signed by Z. W.]

[Text] The successive mishap for radio "Free Europe" about which we wrote in ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 3 June is still worrying not only the RFE experts but also the home co-workers of this subversive station. Let us recall that the affair was over the misuse of the good name of the Gdansk worker Antoni Sokolowski, whom the RFE employees sought to make, with the help of various weasel words and deceits, a founding member of some "free" organization or union known to no one in Poland.

Antoni Sokolowski made a protest statement on this matter and wrote a letter which we published in ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 3 June. In our commentary we added that this was not the first case of this sort, since the well-known stage director and writer Jerzy Janicki fell victim to similar machinations from these same quarters not so long ago. Incidentally, he too protested in our paper against such methods and against the misuse of his name by the Munich station.

The "Free Europe" bosses must have vented their anger on the authors of this whole thinly disguised affair and the latter, seeking to save their skins, decided to turn the matter inside out, as they have done so many times before. Consequently, instead of admitting their mistake, they call various "conferences," invade private apartments, and shout loudly: "It is not we who are lying, but...ZYCIE WARSZAWY, which published a letter that was never written by Antoni Sokolowski...." This is followed by a full-scale attack on us, carried out in the Free-European or, to be more precise, "Free-American" style, declaring how nasty we are and what not.

Up till now we have never published, and do not intend to start publishing, phantom letters, letters which never existed. If it were not for the fact that the letter signed by Antoni Sokolowski is now lying on the editorial desk, we might indeed find ourselves thinking that, under the influence of the present heat wave, we may have had a hallucination. On the morning

of 6 June we received telephone calls from correspondents of two large Western news agencies (Reuter and UPI), asking us whether we had received another letter from Sokolowski which had been sent from Gdansk on 5 June. Evidently the agencies must be using telepathy, since they refer to the contents of a letter before it reaches the addressee; our post office, we must admit, unfortunately is not that efficient.

Well, let the matter stand, but in order to prevent any future misunderstanding about Antoni Sokolowski's letters and what they say, this time we are publishing not only their content but also a photocopy of the letter we have just received from him. Antoni Sokolowski, as we can see, has not completed any university or higher school education. Still, there is one thing that the gentlemen involved in this rather strange, to say the least, affairs could learn from him. That is not to intrude upon people in their homes, not to bother them, and not to try to make them believe in things that never happened.

As far as RFE's insinuations against us are concerned, we can pass them off with a shrug. Well, gentlemen, nerves, nerves. We understand that this was a painful mishap indeed, but why such a desperate reaction.

We would advise you, instead of being angry with ZYCIE WARSZAWY, to go with your resentment to the right place, namely to those who supply you, for such large sums of hard cash, with such lousy and unchecked goods, whose publication over the antenna causes an effect that is precisely the opposite of what your principals, who foot the bills, have in mind.

CSO: 2600



ARMY AIR FORCE TASKS, TRAINING EXPLAINED

Poznan PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish  
No 1, Jan 78 pp 12-17

[Interview by Col. Kazimierz Stec with Col. pilot Engr. Kazimierz Pogorzelski, helicopter specialist]

[Text] The army air force has been in existence for a long time in many modern armies of the world. In Poland, this type of air force enjoys a particularly great popularity gained as a result of effective operations during many maneuvers with territorial armies, as a result of a dozen or so of complicated installation operations and participation in fighting natural disasters. These undertakings revealed a high level of training of the flight personnel of that air force.

The interviewer is discussing the goals and tasks as well as the training of the personnel of the Army Air Force with a helicopter specialist, who is well known from many press reports, Col. pilot Mgr. Engr. Kazimierz Pogorzelski.

Question: We did not even notice how this new type of army air force was created and how it came of age.

Answer: Actually, the army air force -- as we call it in Poland -- was created during the decades since the war. It is at present part of all modern armies. The process of building this air force was accompanied by unusually stormy discussions of military theorists and by practical research in many areas. Military confrontations during that period exercised an essential influence on the formation of views and decisionmaking.

Helicopters played a role which was a turning point in the application of the idea of an army air force. Their features made it possible to create an air force which was not dependent on air fields, had universal application, was little sensitive to poor weather conditions. The solution of the problem of field bases within the groups of the supported armies, and of the joint implementation of the tasks on the battlefield created conditions for satura-

tion of territorial units with helicopters used for various purposes and belonging organizationally to the new type of air force. I do not agree with the thesis about the symptoms of aging of that air force. One can talk correctly about reaching the age of maturity. It is still a vanguard air force, it continues to be in a state of turmoil, and is continuously subjected to the pressure of dynamic development. Part of it is due to an unusually fast technical progress in the field of construction of both the helicopters themselves as well as of their equipment and armament. This progress brings qualitatively new values in the concept of utilization and operational methods of the army air force, transforming them to a greater degree than in the air force which has a stabilized application profile.

Question: What does the term "army air force" mean?

Answer: Perhaps we can start with the role which that air force is able to play on a battlefield. Modern operational conditions, which provide for high intensification and depth, create high requirements with regard to air power in the area of support, reconnaissance, or air transportation. Fighter plane units, equipped with fast airplanes designed mainly for attacking targets located in tactical and operational depths, are not able to carry out all these tasks. During the stages of warfare which develop dynamically, the supreme commander must have part of the air force power within the reach of his own decision and at the time dictated by the rate of speed of changes taking place in the tactical situation. When operating within the meaning of this principle, the air force must be able to carry out combat assignments for the benefit of armies which remain in direct contact with the enemy.

I would define the Army Air Force as follows: it is an air force designed to cooperate directly with territorial armies, subordinated permanently or temporarily to the commanding officers of tactical and operational units of those armies. This means supplementary activities of operational air force and artillery in the area of direct support of the armies, providing for the command and other needs of the army.

Question: The given definition indicates the goals and tasks of that air force. How should one define the actual assignments of the army air force?

Answer: The scope of activities has been expanded correspondingly to the growth of flight-technical characteristics of helicopters and to the level of equipment of helicopters with modern weapons. These tasks were modest at the beginning, they consisted mainly in streamlining the command by maintaining personal contact of the commanding officers and communication officers with the armies or staffs, and fast transmission of documents. In addition, the assignments included also directing artillery fire in the area of direct observation, transportation of tactical parachutists, medical service transportation.

New opportunities created as a result of equipping helicopters with weapons resulted in an overestimate of the concepts of using an army air force in combat operations and brought about a change in its assignment and a shift of the emphasis in terms of the importance of the tasks which are carried out. At present, helicopters are considered preferably as a highly versatile combat weapon, the armament of which -- in the form of machine guns, light guns, howitzers, and rocket launchers, including guided antitank missiles -- enables them to perform all kinds of assignments of fire support and combat with armored weapons of the enemy. The arsenal of the equipment is enriched by means used for purposes of reconnaissance command, communications, and other specialized tasks used for supporting combat activities of the armies.

On the basis of an analysis of numerous publications which appeared in the military literature of various countries, testimonies of specialists and research problems, one can attempt to make a systematic outline of the rich range of assignments divided as follows:

- group of fire assignments, such as fighting tanks, support of territorial armies, protection of parachutists, combat with helicopters;

- group of transportation-parachutist assignments, which include transportation of armies, equipment and supplies, evacuation of wounded and sick soldiers;

- a large group of specialized assignments -- reconnaissance, radioelectronic warfare, guiding of artillery fire, rescue of personnel, and also illumination, smoke screens, and mining of the terrain.

Question: These are extensive tasks. The question is: Can they be carried out? And can they be handled on a battlefield?

Answer: I talked about tasks handled by this type of air force; their implementation must be provided for by proper organization of units supplied with appropriate equipment. These tasks are not easy, but they are at the limits of capacities. On the other hand, an open problem is the following question: How to carry out these tasks, how to integrate them into the structure of the battlefield? The answer is not always simple, and the proposed solutions may also be subject to discussion. There are many questions like that and similar questions, for example: How can one provide for correct leadership and strict cooperation with the armies? How can one overcome the anti-aircraft defense of the enemy? How can one make sure that our own armies would not open fire on their own helicopters, particularly in complicated tactical situations? How can one solve most effectively the problem of guiding helicopters on the target and provide for high efficiency of their fire power?

I am convinced, at least on the basis of broadly popularized military exercises under the cryptonym of "Target 76", that in the Polish Armed Forces the Army Air Force also is striving to make sure that the questions which arise would not remain unanswered.

Question: That is due to the fact that the personnel of the Army Air Force must receive a very diversified and comprehensive program of flight training.

Answer: That is certainly correct. The program must be worked out in such a way that together with a constant increase of qualifications concerning flying, it would provide for harmonious application of new and increasingly more complicated elements in combat. The extent of the tasks and the variety of the equipment used for their implementation makes it necessary to adopt a system of training which determines the course of the flight of the pilot, of the crew, of the group -- starting with basic flight and ending with mastery in a selected specialized field. One can encounter different methods of handling the problems in individual armies, depending on the local needs and opportunities.

In my opinion, there is no need for full universalization of the training of flight personnel in the same type of a multi-purpose helicopter, because such process is very time-consuming. It is more beneficial to make the crews and entire sub-units specialize in assignments involving attacks, reconnaissance, anti-tank combat, and so on. Assuming that all personnel achieve a specific level of skills in combat, skills which are maintained during subsequent leadership training. This will make it possible to substitute the tasks in case of need.

The way the program is carried out will determine whether the scope of the tasks which we discussed previously will remain only a list of wishes, or will turn into reality. In that area, we have a rewarding field for activities by all participants in the training process, whose personal involvement will determine the results on a scale which will be proportionate to the scope of activities based on the function performed.

Question: The implementation of such extensive program requires innovating methods of planning and handling of the flights. Are there major differences in the method of organization of schooling between a "normal" sub-unit of the Air Force and a sub-unit of the Army Air Force?

Answer: The Army Air Force has adopted recognized forms and methods of flight training, which are important for overall training of pilots regardless of the type of the airship. Allow me to refer to the words of the commanding officer of the Air Force, Division General Pilot T. Krepski, who points out that it is necessary to continue or restore effective methods in flight training, method which are based on science and checked repeatedly in practice. It is known that some of of flight training has been applied during the training of cosmonauts, and also in the training of commanding officers.

The organization of training of sub-units of the Army Air Force requires innovating activities, particularly where sub-units do not seem to exist. This applies to modeling of the conditions of future military actions and their gradual application in the practice of military exercises; ways of satisfying the requirements in the area of flight safety, with assumed limitations of the program of the work of flight safety centers; synchronization of a multiprofile training, at various levels of involvement of the personnel and so on.

Differences in the method of organization of the flight? Obviously, there are differences -- just like there are differences between an airplane and a helicopter, in the same way the term LM [Naval Air Force] differs from LWL [Army Air Force]. But I would like to add that the principles of training of the Army Air Force are not different in any way from other types of air forces. even though there is no question that it is an absolutely different type of air force.

Question: In that case, what are the particular requirements with regard to the commanding officers of LWL sub-units during the training period?

Answer: I am not an advocate of misusing terms like "special requirements", "specifics," because they obscure the actual picture of the differences and variations. There is no question that the training of a sub-unit of tanks is different and the training of army engineers is also different. The commanding officers must therefore formulate certain characteristics which differ from each other. But apart from that, there exist common elements of the process of leadership, which are the same for all. This difference of the characteristics can be also found in the Army Air Force. In my opinion, it is actually a confirmation, identification of that air force and its purpose, and not its unusual features.

One can certainly expect from the commanding officer of a sub-unit of helicopters a more penetrating knowledge of the organization, tactics, and weapons of land armies, both those of their own armies as well as of the armies of the enemy, than from a commanding officer of a bomber squadron. Such a commanding officer must be able to read routinely the picture of the battlefield, watch continuously the situation, be ready for independent action, often without full supply of information, acting on the basis of mainly his own observations, knowledge and experience. The skill of creating similar characteristics among his subordinates is a necessary condition of success in the training.

Question: The problem of "independence of action" of the Army Air Force personnel is repeated in your statements. How is this independence brought about?

Answer: It is almost poetry of that service. The pilot must be sure of himself, of his abilities, he must act without protection and supervision, without commands or control. He often operates when radio-communications are off or when he is beyond the range of communication facilities, in principle beyond the range of observation by the radiolocation system. He selects by himself the landing place, evaluates the conditions of the start or landing, makes prognoses of weather conditions. He must select by himself the flight-line and camouflage the flight, find bypasses in the system of enemy fire, make a decision with full responsibility for its consequences.

The training and self-reliance in combat activities is a long-term process which requires participation of specialists in many fields. The basis of success is reliable acquisition of the necessary knowledge and acquisition of a

set of skills. It is a continuous training under conditions which make it possible to check the skills in situations similar to real combat, by assigning tasks which are increasingly more difficult and more complicated. Such a model of personnel training should be seen by every commanding officer and should be carried out consistently, in a controlled manner on the basis of a plan selected individually for each crew.

During well-secured training on the airfield of a permanent base, one must not forget the difficulties which the crew will encounter during an operational flight. The crew must learn earlier the practical application of all the elements which accompany the given assignment, first in terms of experienced crews and then during flights under the guidance of the instructor -- the commanding officer.

Question: There is no doubt that high and self-aware discipline is the basis of success in all combat operations, but in the Army Air Force the problem must be outlined in particular. If one takes in consideration the fact that the commanding officers of the crews are as a rule young noncommissioned officers, then the following question arises: How, by what methods should one inject in these young specialists the principles of flight discipline and methods of self-control?

Answer: Quite so, only a real understanding of the need to observe the requirements of discipline and application of its principles will make it possible to perform the tasks in the air fully and safely. Such a point of view, combined with the young age and limited experience of those pilots who entered the life in the air force, is a broad range of educational training. The subject is gratifying, because an overwhelming majority of young pilots are people who are ambitious, willing, fond of their work as fliers. They are also impatient, sometimes too self-confident, nonchalant. It is necessary to keep instilling a high sense of responsibility and habits of making a prognosis of the development of the situation. I believe that good results can be obtained by imaginative training through analysis of the consequences of proceeding incorrectly. Imagination can "light the warning signal" and prevent manifestations of lack of discipline. The correct principle is to analyze in detail and draw consequences from events which are still not posing a danger, but which contain already some features of danger. The idea is that they must learn by small errors, taking advantage of the training based on seemingly small premises, without waiting for occurrences which are dangerous and tragic in their effects.

The most effective and desired form of maintaining discipline is self-control of every soldier in the chain of preparation and implementation of the assignment in the air. Indeed, such discipline operates under formal supervision and reflects the high morale of the pilot or mechanic. Control measures carried out by superiors will then be a proof of the discipline and an instrument of increasingly greater requirements.

Question: Orders and prohibitions, as we know, are not always carried out. It seems that one of the foundations of self-aware discipline is professionalism, penetrating knowledge, and skills. Experience teaches us that the consequences of a risk taken by a professional are as a rule different from the consequences of a risk taken by a dilettant.

Answer: I agree fully with that view.

Question: What should be the characteristic features of the crew of an airship of the Army Air Force?

Answer: These characteristics are dictated by the conditions under which the crews must operate. I could mention the skill of getting oriented and adjusted to a rapidly changing tactical situation, resistance to difficulties caused both by prolonged flights as well as by rough conditions of establishing a base in the field, necessity for an alternative way of thinking and differentiation of activities, strenuous efforts to reach the goal. But that is not all. A flight specialist who has received full training and is brilliant, cannot lock himself only in the circle of his professional qualifications, however high they may be. He is also a jealous patriot, an activist involved in political work. He is not unaware of problems of culture and economy of the country, and also of the place of his country in the contemporary world. His posture gains recognition and confidence of his environment.

Question: The new school year has started. What problems do you consider as the main problems in the training of sub-units of the Army Air Force?

Answer: As we said before, the tasks of the Army Air Force are very differentiated and extensive. Just like in any period, this year again the tasks must be carried out in accordance with the schooling plans. I do not believe that it would be necessary in our discussion to go into details on the subject. There is no doubt that some of the problems of training include the following:

-- How to improve the skills of sub-units in carrying out a correct maneuver, while maintaining effective control and supply?

-- How to maintain a high level of training of the crews of combat helicopters, particularly when firing weapons aboard helicopters, while using the resources and limits economically?

-- How to develop as effectively as possible the training of the crews in fighting tanks and other combat vehicles by using armor-piercing guided missiles?

One can enumerate many problems of this kind, for example directing artillery fire at concealed targets, cover and support of tactical parachute units. I

believe that all elements of training must be applied in different terrains, including urban zones, mountainous zones, as well as forests and lakes.

Question: Last year, the crews of the Army Air Force demonstrated on many occasions their mastery of flight. What were the reasons for these achievements?

Answer: One can mention undoubtedly the clear increase of accuracy of the functioning of the commands and staffs, which have been subjected to various types of training, and whose training was increased during staff exercises and games of decision-making, and finally subjected to tests during training exercises held jointly with the armies. The commands and staffs have shown that they are able to carry out combat assignments successfully. What constitutes an essential factor is the increasingly greater experience of commanding officers of the armies in operating and commanding the new tools of war such as a sub-unit of line helicopters with the present equipment and armament. A more complete understanding of the capabilities and also needs of this air force which cooperates very closely with territorial armies is the source of increasingly better results in utilizing this air force on the battlefield and of creative search for new operational methods. One should not overlook in this respect the effects of theoretical development of the military thought on the level and content of practical operations. This includes also the formation of a uniform concept, common language for the mutual benefit of the flyers and foot soldiers in the question of integrating helicopters into a uniform structure of combat weapons.

Operations of the crew over a target is the fulfillment of flight operations. Great efforts of many services are necessary for purposes of those few moments. But the results depends above all on the crew: the pilot, navigator, operator, gunner -- depending on the composition of the crew, the task, or the operational method.

I must admit that on many occasions I was tremendously excited, when I heard at command posts, from the lips of high-ranking officers, words of sincere recognition and congratulations to the crews for highly skilled handling of the equipment and of the military profession. Appreciation on the part of such strict examiners may be a confirmation that the combat training of army air force personnel is going well.

Could such results appear suddenly? Obviously not. It was the result of strenuous training in basic elements of individual crews and small groups in combat, test applications in carrying out tactical assignments, methodical training of commanding officers and instructors, the entire cycle of experimental and research exercises, and finally the "target 76" -- a big test of the flexibility of the straining in preparing new elements of combat involving the use of large groups of helicopters for direct fire support of the armies day and night.



Questions: Will the current year be less favorable?

Answer: I think that it will be a busy year, filled with training "comings and goings" at airfields, and with work of soldiers on polygons. A year dedicated to indoctrination of a new group of young flyers in the secrets of combat training, streamlining of the organization of flights, and improvements of tactical operations, enrichment of combat means, overcoming of one's weaknesses, and searching for optimal solutions. I am an optimist and believe that the forthcoming year will bring many satisfactions, since we want to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Polish People's Army by getting good results.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT: We express our best wishes to the personnel of the Army Air Force in carrying out all the plans, and we wish them safe flights.

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ROMANIA

VETERAN PARTY MEMBERS EXPRESS THANKS FOR PENSION INCREASES

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Apr 78 p 5

[Article: "Through Telegrams and Letters Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Veteran Party Members Express Their Deep Appreciation for the Recent Measure Increasing Their Pensions and Ensuring Them Increasingly Better Living Conditions"]

[Text] Based on the initiative of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the party, a decision was recently adopted concerning increasing the pensions of veteran party members. By presidential decree, this pension increase will benefit a significant number of comrades -- Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities -- who during the party's years of illegal status struggled for realization of the most precious ideals of the party and the people and for the triumph of socialism on the soil of Romania.

As an expression of the deep esteem and regard enjoyed by the veteran party members, the decision to increase pensions was widely supported and was received with great satisfaction and appreciation by all those who, on the basis of this measure, will be able to achieve better living conditions and a carefree, quiet old age.

In expressing their sentiments of deep appreciation and gratitude for the pension increase in telegrams and letters addressed to the Secretary General of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the veteran party members expressed great appreciation for the prodigious activities of the most beloved son and the leader of the party and the nation, activities which are dedicated to the enrichment of our nation, the happiness of the Romanian people, and the cause of socialism, peace and collaboration among peoples.

"With great emotion and joy we received the news of our pension increase through a recent presidential decree, a fact which once again strengthens our conviction that the socialist present is a time of humanism, of respect toward work and creativity, a time which knows that devotion, self-sacrifice and heroism should be rewarded," said a telegram addressed by veteran party members from Galati County. "We thank you, beloved comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, remembering that you were our comrade in hard times and who today is the most precious symbol of the struggle of the working class and of the people for the freedom of the nation, and for its historically unprecedented

independence, sovereignty and prestige. We thank you for having known how to the people so wisely on the path toward realization of the ideals for which our comrades have given their lives. We thank you for this time in which our hopes have taken life in immortal works. We are proud that our best, most beloved and most far-seeing comrade enjoys an international prestige which until today has never been matched by a Romanian statesman. We are proud that the desire for peace, friendship and collaboration of our party and people is expressed so faithfully in your exceptional activity carried on for establishment of a new economic order in the world and of a climate which will ensure a more dignified and freer life for workers throughout the world."

"We are deeply impressed by the decree you signed in respect to increasing our pensions and we personally thank you and the party with all our hearts for the concern which you have shown for assuring increasingly better living conditions for old people," said a telegram signed by the following veteran party members from Arges County: Gheorghe Barica, Nicolae Bercaru, Ion Diaconu, Ion Ionescu, Ion Mincu, Constantin Mitu, Petre Nastasescu, Ion Stancu, Tudor Tudor, Iulian Vasilescu, Vasile Tudorica, and Nicolae Voinea.

"We are conscious of the fact that because of you we received special attention after the Ninth Congress of the RCP. Moreover, your constant concern is for the welfare and happiness of all our people. Once again we express our complete devotion and appreciation for the entire policy of the party, a policy for which you are the promotor and founder. Please allow us once again on this occasion to thank you from our hearts and to wish you good health, long life, and the capability to work for the happiness and good of all our people."

"All of us who understand your outstanding role in the workers' movement and in the struggle for the national and social liberation of the nation, for establishment of a socialist system on the soil of Romania, have a deep appreciation for your capabilities as a statesman, a patriot, and an enthusiastic revolutionary and for the consistency with which you have always acted for continued enrichment of the nation and for increasing its prestige in the world and on this occasion we once again express our firm and total adherence to all of the domestic and foreign policies of the party and our state," said a telegram addressed by veteran party members -- Romanians, Hungarians and Germans -- from Brasov County.

"In expressing our statement of appreciation for the recent measure and keeping constantly in our hearts and minds the appreciation expressed by you for our activities, we assure you, greatly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that together with all our people, encouraged by your constant example of working and living, we will work even further, to the limits of the possibilities of our age, for realization of the policy of our party and state for constant progression of the nation on the the shining road of socialism toward communism."

Vasile Cristea, Gros Samuila, Iosif Elbe, Dezideriu Berger, Nicolae Boitor, Istvan Foldes, Erzsebet Diavidovici, Petru Bria, Gavril Cepiu, Ilona Altman, Susana Fulop, Edmund Iacob, Rozalia Man, Ana Deac and Pavel Fodorean, all of whom were veteran party members who during the period of party illegality and then during the years of socialist construction struggled and worked in close unity and friendship -- Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities -- said in their telegram: "We see in this measure new proof of the appreciation of the party and of you personally, greatly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an appreciation for those of us who, together with you, made a contribution during the difficult years of class struggle toward overthrowing the old order based on exploitation and oppression and, after 23 August 1944, toward establishing the new society which is rising today with such splendor on the beloved soil of our nation. We again on this occasion send you, greatly beloved comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our comradely thanks, together with a solemn pledge to work even more in making a contribution toward exemplary fulfillment of the wise policies of the Romanian Communist Party, toward education of the younger generations in the revolutionary communist spirit."

"Proud of the glorious past of the Romanian people and of our communist party and of the greatness of our new socialist present, veteran party members from Tulcea County, united in thought and mind with the entire nation, express to you our deepest sentiments of profound admiration and great appreciation in respect to you, greatly esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the decisive contribution which you made in developing and implementing the policy of the party dedicated to enrichment of the socialist fatherland and the welfare of the Romanian people and an increasingly greater affirmation of Romania in the international arena. The great revolutionary changes achieved by the Romanian people during the shining years of socialism fill our hearts with joy and patriotic pride because they represent the crowning of the ideals of liberty, wellbeing and happiness for which our glorious party struggled during the years of illegal status as well as during the years of socialist construction, ideals to which we veterans of the illegal period of party history again dedicate ourselves and our entire lives and abilities as faithful and devoted soldiers of the Romanian Communist Party."

In expressing their deep appreciation to the party and personally to its Secretary General for the living and working conditions which are enjoyed today in our country by the workers, regardless of nationality -- Romanians, Hungarians and Germans -- veteran party communists from Bihor County said in the telegram they sent: "Allow us, beloved comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to use this happy occasion to express once again our profound sentiments of esteem, admiration, devotion and appreciation for the outstanding work which you have carried out both domestically and internationally and for the truly parental concern you have shown for us older people and for all the people. We promise you, our beloved leader, that we will remain the same faithful soldiers of the party and that we will support with devotion and to the limit of our abilities all of the party's activities and that we will struggle until the ends of our lives for cultivation among the young people of the values and ideals of socialism and communism in our dear country, the Romanian Socialist Republic."

A telegram signed by Gheorghe Coman, Gheorghe Ion and Constantin Boeru, veteran party members from the municipality of Buzau, said, among other things: "For the moral and material stimuli which you have accorded us, we once again express our sincere thanks to the leadership of the party and to you personally, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and we promise that in the future we will continue our modest contribution to construction of a multilaterally developed socialist society on the soil of our country. Together with all the people, we express our complete adherence to the domestic and foreign policies of the party and our state for strengthening of peace and friendship among peoples and to the results of the visit which you made to the United States, a visit which was recorded as an event of noteworthy significance with broad impact in the sphere of international relations."

A letter signed by Dezideriu Lindner from Sibiu said: "As one of the old militants of our communist party, I am happy that I live in our country, a country in which all of the conditions have been created for affirmation in full of the human personalities of all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, Romanians, Germans, Hungarians. I am happy that I see our precious ideals, the ideals for which I also struggled during the period of party illegality, being realized. As one of the sons of our socialist fatherland, although an older one, I again pledge to spare no efforts in continuing to work for realization of the wonderful socialist and communist ideals. Permit me, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to thank you from my heart for the pension increase and for the concern shown for veteran party members so as to ensure a happier and carefree life in our dear fatherland."

A telegram sent by veteran party members from the county of Hunedoara stated: "In this measure we once again see the special concern of the party and of you personally, beloved comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for us, the old militants of the party. We are proud of the fact that under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party the ideal for which the party struggled since its inception -- the construction of socialism and communism in Romania -- is being brought to life."

"For everything that you have done and are doing for us and for the wonderful living conditions which you have created for us, as old militants of the party please accept the warmest thanks from our hearts, beloved comrade Secretary General, along with our wishes for your good health, long life, great happiness and great achievements."

"My family and I both thank you," wrote Ion Ionita, veteran party member from Timisoara, "for your personal concern and for the better living conditions which you have created for us. We wish you good health and success in your work for the continued prosperity of the nation."

"We, veteran party members from Maramures County -- Romanians, Hungarians and other nationalities -- were deeply moved by the measure adopted by presidential decree in relation to an increase in our pensions. Through this humanitarian gesture, the leadership of the party and you personally, beloved

comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, once again showed a deep appreciation for the revolutionary activities which we, together with other comrades throughout the country, carried on during the difficult years of illegal status in support of the vital interests of the working class and the workers for social and national freedom, for a worthwhile life, and for justice and social equality. For us it is an unexpected joy to live today in a society which incorporates realization of those ideals to which we dedicated our lives from the time of our tender youth and for which many of us made the supreme sacrifice. Today, in our golden years, we enjoy a peaceful, happy life. We know that this is due to the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist, scientific policies of our party, policies toward which you, beloved comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, made a decisive and inestimable contribution in terms of development and realization."

"Recently, we followed with vibrant emotion your visit to the United States of America, a splendid mission of peace and goodwill among all peoples of the world. The entire trip, the words which you spoke there, the esteem accorded to our country by outstanding figures from American political and social-economic life, all represented an impressive expression of the fact that once and for all the most just society in the world has triumphed in socialist Romania. How stirring it is for a veteran fighter to see fulfilled the ideals and goals for which we dedicated all our revolutionary activities!"

"In expressing to you our profound attachment to the domestic and international policies of the party and our appreciation for your own outstanding activity in support of the happiness of the nation and those who work, we communists receiving pensions in Constanta County promise that we will continue to do everything we can for unceasing realization of the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the people all around our party. We promise to use all of our abilities to help the younger generation to fully understand, to prize and to carry on the glorious revolutionary traditions of our party's struggle and our people's struggle."

A letter signed by Nicolae Comsa, Gratian Ratiu and Constantin Albescu from Sibiu said, among other things: "We thank you from our hearts for the outstanding living conditions which you have created for us so that we can live in happiness and peace and so that we can see with our own eyes that the great ideals for which our party struggled are being realized. We pledge that together with the other communists of our party we will continue with all our hearts to fully support realization of the Program of our party, a program which incorporates fulfillment of the long-standing wishes of our people for progress and freedom and happiness."

A letter signed by Martin Cozma from the commune of Remetea in Harghita County said: "I should like to thank you for the special concern which you have again shown for us, the old veterans, and for the substantial pension increase. May you live many happy years in carrying on the construction of socialism and the changeover to communism in our country."